ADDRESS

BY

REV. JOSEPH G. SYMMES,

AT CRANBURY, N. J.

JUNE 1, 1865.

"TO WHAT PURPOSE IS THIS WASTE?"

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

LOYAL LEAGUES

OF

SOUTH-BRUNSWICK AND MONROE,

JUNE 1, 1865,

BY

REV. JOSEPH G. SYMMES,

PASTOR FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

CRANBURY, N. J.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE LEAGUES.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Cranbury, N. J., June 1, 1865.

Rev. J. G. Symmes,—

Dear Sir:

Having listened with pleasure to the discourse delivered by you to-day, we have been appointed a Committee, by the South-Brunswick and Monroe Union League Councils, to request a copy for publication.

Aaron Dean,
Robert Vanderbergh,
R. G. Isham,
Committee.

Cranbury, N. J., June 6, 1865.

Messrs. Dean, Vanderbergh & Isham,—

Dear Sirs:

A discourse, once delivered in public, is, to some extent, public property, and in this case I do not know of any reason for refusing your request.

Yours, truly,

J. G. Symmes.

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ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE LOYAL LEAGUE COUNCILS OF SOUTH-BRUNSWICK AND MONROE:

In appearing to comply with your invitation to address you on this occasion, I ask the privilege of referring to myself so far as will allow me to thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me. There certainly can be no higher object of human ambition than to secure and enjoy the good opinion of those who have been the steadfast friends of their country and of freedom during times of trial. And it will ever be one of the proudest recollections of my life that such men have looked upon my course, during four years of doubt and darkness, with so much approbation as to deem me worthy of the invitation in response to which I appear before you. It is certainly right and appropriate for you to appear here in a body to show your compliance with the call of the living President, and to testify your respect for the memory of the dead President. No man nor body of men has a better right. But you do not expect me to address you as Loyal Leagues, but as citizens. I understand your invitation simply as calling me to speak, and hence I shall address my remarks to all before me. The circumstances under which we assemble to-day afford a striking illustration of the nature of human life. Our whole life is a scene wherein the emotions of joy and sadness strangely commingle. And never has this been more strangely true than to-day. Had our martyred President lived we should, no doubt, have been called

together ere this to rejoice over the glorious and triumphant termination of the war that for four years has drenched the land in blood. Now while it is mete we should rejoice, our joy must be chastened with sorrow that he, who had been the chosen instrument of God to destroy a foul rebellion, should himself be its last victim. But as for ourselves we must say that it is neither inappropriate nor unprofitable that in the song of our triumph should mingle the funeral dirge. Yes ! it was best for us that, in the very moment when from all our broad land was going up one glad, frantic shout of victory, there should come a shock that taught us, on the one hand, that God reigns, that in him is our trust, and that to him belongs the praise ; and on the other, that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." We are here, then, for the double and not conflicting objects of giving thanks for victory, and of humbling ourselves in sorrow before the Lord of Hosts. Never have any people had greater reasons for thanksgiving. For never have any people received more striking exhibitions of Providential care. With joy we recognize, yet can scarcely realize, that the war is ended. While malignant critics were putting forth their dolorous utterances about the war passing into its second and more difficult phase, it suddenly ceases. Few foreigners can understand that a guerrilla warfare in this country can only injure those who practice it, and will simply compel the Government to made a cleaner sweep of the disloyal element from the land. As the sun breaks forth after the thunder storm has passed away, so the sun of peace bursts upon our bleeding land, almost before the thunders of war have died away around the defences of Petersburgh. And the months of April and May, 1865, will stand forever in history as the most eventful in the annals of time. The General and the army on whom hung the hopes of the rebellion are beaten and scattered in a desperate and final

contest ; and speedily they throw down their arms on terms such as never conquerors granted to conquered rebels. The fragments, which had been swept before the avenging legions of the Union, through Georgia and South Carolina, are gathered into one mass only to surrender together to a power it was but madness longer to resist. The wrecks of insurgent armies all over the land hasten to follow this wholesome example. Until now there only remains a speck of war in the far distance, which will vanish when the flag of the free appears in sight.* The blood-stained representative of rebel power in March is proudly defiant ; in April is a fugitive and vagabond with none to do him reverence ; in May is a captive in the hands of the Government he tried so desperately to destroy. Vessels on the high seas claiming to be Confederate States vessels of war are treated with all hospitality in foreign ports in April ; in May are declared pirates, which all nations are warned not to harbor, and that by a power which will not court a war but which is now free to sustain her declarations—declarations which all nations will hasten to respect. On the other hand during these eventful months we see a great and magnanimous ruler, towards whom all eyes were turned in fear or respect, hastening joyfully to apply means to heal the wounded, bleeding land, suddenly stricken down from his high position, lamented by all the virtuous of of mankind. The whole land is clothed in sackcloth ; and partisan supporters and political opponents vie with each other in manifestations of sorrow over the fallen leader. And as the slow and solemn funeral march proceeds from city to city bearing the honored remains, the millions of our own land follow to the grave, and all the nations of the earth unite to pay funeral honors such as mortal never enjoyed. And while this unparalleled pageant is progress-

* Since that was written we have the news that the last armed rebel has thrown down his arms, and Peace reigns from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf.

ing a spectacle most amazing to monarchists is presented ; the constitutional successor quietly assumes the reins, and the Government moves forward as if nothing had occurred. Strangely enough, too, almost the first act of that successor is to blow the trumpet of recall to the conquering heroes of many a hard-fought field. And our victorious soldiers are permitted to pass, in triumphal march, through the city which represented all they had toiled and fought for, to be welcomed not only by on-lookers, but also by the whole land their valor and endurance had saved. In March more than half our coast was in a state of blockade, and trade was stagnant throughout half the land ; in May our ports are thrown open to the commerce of the world, and trade begins to flow through all the arteries of the land. Quickly the happy hum of peaceful pursuits will be heard where but yesterday armed hosts met in terrible conflict.

Such a chapter as this is not likely very soon to be added to history. It is a grand privilege to be permitted to live while such a chapter of history was being enacted. Our joy would, perhaps, have been too self-glorifying and forgetful of God had he not permitted a terrible chastisement to be inflicted upon us by the hand of wicked men. And it is well for us to mingle tears for our fallen leader with our rejoicings. For God has permitted it, and he had both a cause and a purpose in doing so. Our sins had deserved the chastening, and for them we should bow, in humble penitence, before God. The purpose was, doubtless, double ; it was to chasten us, and make us more fit for the great work God has for us to do ; and it was ordained of God that traitors might not escape the penalty of outraged law. Never did a people more sincerely or more appropriately mourn a fallen leader. Of that leader I have already, in the hearing of most of you, spoken so fully that I need not now to offer more than one

remark. It is this, Abraham Lincoln was one of the best representative men this country ever produced. I mean in this particular view, he was the best representative illustration of the advantages and opportunities of republican institutions. Such a man is an impossibility in a monarchy, or an aristocracy. Born in poverty, schooled in adversity, and self-taught, he began at the foot of the ladder and reached the top. And we say of him not that he was a *great* man but that he was a *good* man. Or rather we should say that he was *great* because he was *good*. He was honest, faithful, true, unselfish, God-fearing, and eminently a man of common sense. And these qualities make his measure of goodness attainable by every man among us, and his greatness possible for every man. Lords and Princes are deemed to hold a position and exercise rights by virtue of their birth which are utterly unattainable by other men. Here no circumstances of birth or of condition bar the pathway to any position. Of this we have had one striking example. And it is a most remarkable and Providential fact that we have another example in his successor. A man of lofty patriotism, of indomitable will, and of sterling honesty, from the humblest ranks of the people, now occupies one of the most conspicuous and powerful positions in the world. Trained in the school of Jackson, he has already proved himself a noble representative of the stern policy of that sterling patriot. It is a matter for thankfulness that one man from the people crushed the effort to destroy their Government; and another man from the people has now the task of restoring the influence of their Government all over the land. And now we can say, although it is not every man that can reach the Presidential office, every man may deserve to be President.

But now I must hasten on to the subject which I shall propose for your consideration to-day. It is suggested by

a piece of history recorded in the 26th chapter of Matthew. One week before his death Christ came to Bethany, the town of Lazarus, who had been raised from the dead. There lived one Simon, whom Jesus had healed of leprosy, and who now received the Saviour, and entertained him at a great feast. While seated at the table there came a woman, named Mary, having "an alabaster box of very precious ointment." She broke the seal, and poured the ointment on the head of Jesus, and also on his feet. Then, as a mark of her great love, she wiped his feet with the hair of her head. The guests looked on in silence, enjoying the grateful fragrance that filled the room. But one man there whispered to his neighbor, and he to the next, until a spirit of disapprobation manifested itself all around the table. Then Judas undertook to express the discontent he had excited by saying, "*to what purpose is this waste?* This ointment might have been sold for much, and given to the poor." The historian adds that Judas said this, not because he cared for the poor, but because he had the bag, and handled the money. His assertion was that here was great expenditure, and that it was wasted; and he proposed a very charitable object for the money. Covering a purely selfish desire with a charitable proposition. His hypocrisy was evidenced by the fact that he complained not of the cost of the supper, which was, no doubt, greater than that of Mary's box. That was proper because he partook of the supper. But Christ now replied. He admitted the expenditure was great, and he approved of charity to the poor. But he took issue with Judas on one point,—*was the expenditure proper?* Judas called it waste; Christ called it a proper use of the money. One reason for this was that the poor are always here, and can be assisted at any time. But his stay was now short, and whatever was done for him must be done quickly. The main reason was that this anointing was for his burial.

His death was under such circumstances that his friends had no opportunity to perform this act. The act of Mary, then, was highly commendable ; and this use of precious material in the highest degree appropriate. And here we have contrasted the sacrifice which love laid at the feet of her Lord ; and unbelief, hypocrisy and treason *finding fault with love's sacrifice.* And I ask your attention to the same contrast as presented by our country. Love's sacrifice for that country ; and unbelief, hypocrisy and treason finding fault with that sacrifice.

In the war which is now closed there has been very great and unusual expenditure. And first of all we must name the lives that have been sacrificed, and the sufferings in consequence. At the call of our country hundreds of thousands of our fellow-citizens went forth to fight her battles. And of these, multitudes will never return. They fell upon the field of battle, and comrades sent their bodies home, or buried them where they fell. Sick or wounded they were carried to the hospitals, to be carried thence to their graves. They were lost to sight where the conflict raged fiercely, and falling where no friendly eye saw them, the only record we have is "*they are missing.*" Or worse, they fell into the hands of those who, having committed treason, were prepared for any crime, however fiendish, and there, under a treatment the most cruel that malignant ingenuity could devise, they languished and died by thousands, or tottered home to die of the effects of such treatment before our eyes. And these were not the scum and offscouring of the land as many affirm. They were husbands and fathers, brothers and sons, friends and lovers. They went from our churches, our counting-rooms and workshops, our manufactories and farms, from all positions and occupations of life. Their families have lost them, and their country has lost them. Their value was fully up to the average value of those left at home, and in many

respects above that average. And their loss will be felt through the many years they might have lived. But this is not the whole story. What through following the camp, or waiting on the battle-field and in the hospital, or watching with broken hearts for footsteps that never return, perhaps an equal multitude have gone down to the grave. Whatever may be the estimated number of those who have lost their lives directly by this war, it can never be known how many have gone to the grave by causes growing out of the war. And last of all in this list of precious lives, perhaps the very last victim actually stricken down by the foul spirit of rebellion, must be mentioned the President whom none loved better than the true and loyal soldier. Here was an expenditure that cannot be estimated by any of our standards of value. And we must not forget to mention the toils and hardships endured by our brave soldiers, in camp and hospital, in the march, the seige, the battle, and who have returned to us. May it be to spend a long life in the enjoyment of the proud and increasing honors that will be rendered to the soldiers of the republic If I envy any man his earthly honor it is that of having fought under Grant or Thomas, Sheridan or Sherman. And let this country never cease to remember the sufferings of which the world takes too little notice, that of wives and sisters, lovers and friends, of those whose peculiar lot seems to be to love and to suffer. If these were times that tried men's souls, they peculiarly tried women's hearts. But this was not all. A mountain of debt has been piled upon the land ; a debt which, though it bear a small proportion to the wealth of the country, will yet be a great burden for a generation. But this is only a small part of our material expenditure. The industry of the land has been shaped to supply the wastes of war rather than to minister to the wants of peace. Our commerce had well-nigh been swept from the ocean. And in ruined

cities and desolated lands, in animals and munitions of war that have perished, countless millions have gone down in the all-devouring vortex. There are some, no doubt, who look more on this loss than on the lives sacrificed. But the life of the humblest Union soldier was worth more than all this treasure. But there is no dispute that there has been an expenditure of incalculable value in these lives and treasures. The question in dispute is, *was all this treasure properly expended* ?—in other words was the object worthy of such an expenditure. Some say *nay* :— we say, emphatically, *yea*.

I. Not a few among us have been continually asking, "to what purpose is this waste ?" And in order to answer the question properly we must consider, for a moment, who they are that ask it, and what are the reasons they urge for implying that all this has been wasted, for the question implies this.

1. I would mention first in this category the ignorant partisans and stubborn grumblers of the land. There are some men who are constitutional grumblers,—I mean that have this natural disposition. It may be their misfortune to have such a nature, but it is their fault that they have indulged it so much that they must have something to grumble about. It seems to be as necessary to them as their daily food. And whoever or whatever happens to displease them that is the object upon which their disposition vents itself. They are too narrow-minded to comprehend a worthy object, and too ignorant to understand the true value of anything that requires a sacrifice. Such men cannot see that such a country as this is worth any sacrifice, and so their small burdens are considered insufferable. Then there are men who have always proudly called themselves by certain party names. Far be it from me to find fault with men who cling to principles. But the men I speak of are too ignorant to understand the principles of a

party. And hence they follow whoever may lead, wherever they go, if only they bear the old name. *They cannot distinguish between the past history of a noble service and the present teachings of false leaders.* And so we find that the party, whose idolized leader thirty years ago crushed the serpent of secession in the egg, in our time is betrayed into nurturing that serpent into vigorous life. You cannot argue with the ignorance that cannot or will not understand this. It is that kind of folly of which Solomon speaks when he says "though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle yet will not his foolishness depart from him."

2. There are others who say "to what purpose is all this waste?" who, claiming to be true and loyal, yet maintain that *compromise* would have settled all our difficulties. I have no doubt there are many honest men who think this, and yet are as true well-wishers of their country as any of us. I have no patience with the man or party that claims all the virtue in the world. But what shall we say to these well-meaning men who advocated compromise? In the first place not one of them can possibly name the compromise that would have satisfied southern leaders. They may know this from the one fact that they cannot themselves agree to any compromise they would have offered. The effort was honestly, earnestly, strenuously made to find some such mode of escape from war. And made by all parties. And hence we say that war could not have thus been avoided. The question between us and those who take the affirmative is simply one of facts. So we must make our affirmation, and leave the decision to history. I affirm, then, that two things have been already fully established as facts: one is that, in all their speeches, their newspapers, and their public documents, the rebel leaders disdainfully scorned all mention of the word compromise. Another fact is that no compromise could have been adopted that

would not have made this Government and country not worth saving ; none but would have made it a stench and a curse to the human race. And history will more and more than verify these assertions.

3. Another class of those who say "to what purpose is this waste ?" are those who believe that the South was right and we wrong in the contest ; who rejoiced in every Union defeat and rebel triumph. Of course, if their premise is right their conclusion is inevitable, all this treasure was worse than wasted. You can all testify that I have charity enough to believe that there are few such men among us. With such I have no argument. They are the most despicable men on the face of the earth. They had meanness enough to stay where they enjoyed the protection of the Government they wished to see destroyed ; and they had not principle enough to go to the help of the cause they approved. This is the true picture of your genuine copperhead. And I have too much respect for the human race to believe there are many such men. Certainly I would apply the name to no man or party. Let those claim it who admire it.

4. Another class who cry "to what purpose is this waste ?" are the Judas politicians. When Judas ate of the supper the cost was all right, when he could only smell the fragrance of the ointment it was great waste. So these men, if they could share the spoils of office the cost would be all right. But as they cannot they suddenly become very humane, charitable and religious. And what with great hue and cry they succeeded in deceiving many honest people as to the cost and necessity of the war. But their patriotism and humanity, like the charity of Judas, is very suspicious. And truth requires us to say that, no doubt, many in office have sustained the war only for the spoils. I would not assume to advise *parties*, but I do advise good and true men to see to it that such men are left at home.

Follow no political leader, whatever his name or professions, who has not a well-established character for honesty and truth.

5. Perhaps I ought to mention that some others will contend that the war was too protracted, and therefore cost more than was necessary. We all admit that. But some say that we have not really had war in earnest for more than eighteen months. Others, that the early policy would have succeeded if it had only been followed up. But I say, you will generally find that those who complain most of the cost are men who were opposed to war altogether. It might easily be shown, did time permit, that our Government conducted the war with as much rapidity and energy as was possible under all the circumstances.

II. But I must hasten on to say that the great mass o the intelligent people of the loyal States appreciated the necessity for the war, and saw an object in it worthy of all the cost, yea, and a thousand times more than it has cost. And when I say the great mass of our people saw this, I do not refer to any party. Multitudes voted against the party in power, not because they were opposed to the war, but because they thought a change would hasten its victory. If you take away all the honest, loyal, patriotic, intelligent men of all parties, you will have the mass who saw the necessity for war ; and you will leave the ignorant, malicious, rebel sympathisers who were opposed to the war on any and all grounds. I am not here, then, to speak for any party. Nor yet am I here to defend the mode in which the war was conducted, although I believe that, taken altogether, history will show more and more clearly the wisdom and efficiency of that method. But I am here to answer for all loyal men that this precious treasure was expended for an object worthy of it all. The cost has been well bestowed.

1. First and foremost of all objects, an object, indeed,

including all others ; allow me to say that this expenditure was to save our Government. The Southern people took up arms not to preserve their rights. With both houses of Congress and the Supreme Court in their interests their rights in the Union were perfectly secure. But this was not even their pretence. The rights for which they appealed to arms were rights outside the Union ; the right to divide the country, the right to overturn the Government our fathers framed. And it was in doing such work as this that they continually cried "*let us alone.*" It would only be wasting breath to set forth the proofs that the object of the rebels was to divide the country, and set up another Government within its limits. No one disputes that. But some may dispute that their success would have destroyed our Government. There may be some who believe that even then our Government could have been continued. But what would have been rebel success ? The whole territory south of the Ohio River and the southern boundary of Pennsylvania would have gone. The seat of our Government would have had to be removed from Washington. And where would it have gone ? That question opens up a picture of chaos from which no mortal could conjecture what would have come. Certain it is that the one division accomplished and submitted to would have made others both necessary and inevitable. We had to be one country, having one destiny, or be shivered to pieces, the fragments forming as many petty nations as there were men that could gather strength enough to establish a Government. And the whole must have been swallowed up by some military genius founding an aristocracy or a military despotism. But in the midst of the turmoil our free Government would have perished. For indeed no form of Government could survive such a turmoil. But this our people resolved, that, by the grace of God, should not come. Differing on many points, on this one all loyal people were united,—*this nation shall not die.*

It was this, and this only, that gave the party in power the astounding and overwhelming majority last fall. Whatever men may now declare, this is evident, the people understood that they had presented to them national dishonor and death, or national life. They so understood the issue, and the result was such as not only to silence the malignants, but also to sweep from the land the last vestige of rebel power within six months after that decision of the people.

But are there any who say that a free Government has already perished? Observe, then, when Abraham Lincoln was first elected, though not receiving a majority of votes, all loyal men said he shall be sustained, because constitutionally elected. But for the second term there is no disputing the majority. So that whatever the present Government may be, it is what the majority have declared for. And their right to govern has, we trust, been vindicated for all time. It is not a free country where the minority govern. They *must* submit. And that submission shall be rendered to the officer who receives the majority of votes, be he the Governor of this State or the President of the United States. And if there are any discontented persons, of any party, who feel that it is not a free country except where the minority govern, then we say this country will be reconciled to their departure out of it. For this people, having expended such vast treasures in establishing a Government where the majority shall rule, will never give it up. They think that to secure such a boon all this treasure has been well expended. And they point now, with no little satisfaction, to the facility and haste with which our public servants are restoring the old order and working of our governmental affairs. Civil law is again taking its place, where military law but yesterday prevailed, or where rebellion reared its defiant head. Yes! our sacrifices and our toils have saved, under the blessing

of God, the best Government the world ever saw, to be a protection and blessing to the generations that are to come after us.

2. This is the all-comprehending object for which this expenditure of precious treasure has been made. But in this are included many objects which deserve special mention. Every man might make out a list. But no man can name them all in the hour allotted to such a service as this. Suffer me to call your attention to a few. One is this,—we have preserved free institutions in the world. It was not merely for our own national life that we waged this terrible war. But we have been fighting the battle of true liberty for the world. We do not pretend to the credit of expending all this treasure and enduring all this suffering for even so grand an object as sustaining the cause of struggling humanity. We cannot claim to be so philanthropic as that. But God placed us in such a position that we must either be craven enough to abandon our own free Government to be destroyed, or wage this war to preserve it. God gave us the spirit to do the last, and crowned our efforts with his blessing. And in doing this he used us as the instruments to fight the battle of mankind. Would you have proofs of this ? Look at the position and relations of America. Preserved from the knowledge and occupation of civilized men until the later ages, America was opened up to a wondering world only after the great Reformation had evolved the principles of liberty which were to be planted here. And here these principles have been cherished, protected and developed by a chain of Providences as instructive and remarkable as that which brought Israel from Egypt to Canaan. Thus protected and blessed we grew into a powerful nation with unexampled rapidity. We sent forth our representatives into all the world, who carried the knowledge of our institutions to all people. We became the asylum whither fled those

that were oppressed in their civil rights, or were persecuted for conscience' sake. But all men looked upon our Government simply as an experiment, many hoping to see us fail, the multitudes hoping for our success. Thus situated we could not avoid exercising a tremendous influence. And having now passed through our great final test, the friends of liberty will confound their adversaries by pointing to our example. It is proved that a free Government can suppress a rebellion, as well as repel foreign invasion. And here is an argument for those who plead for the rights of the people that cannot be answered.

Another proof that this was the world's battle for liberty may be seen in the sympathies of mankind. Every tyrant and despot, every believer in the divine right of kings, every narrow-minded, selfish aristocrat, every dealer in the bodies and souls of men, all these have longed for the success of the rebellion. On the other hand, every struggling patriot, every enlightened and generous statesman, every defender of the rights of the many against the few, all these have rejoiced in all our successes. And the groaning millions have looked to the issue of our struggle as decisive of their own destiny. If we had shirked the contest, or been craven enough to give it up before its object was accomplished, then liberty had perished, or had been put back for ages. It was the opinion of our wisest men long ago that if we failed it would be the last experiment of free Government by the people. Let us thank God to-day that we have not failed, and that liberty lifts her head with joy throughout the earth.

3. Very intimately connected with this is another object which, we trust, has been secured, and that is freedom of conscience,—religious liberty. This was the sacred treasure which our fathers bore to this wilderness—this was the grand principle from which all our privileges have sprung, —*freedom to worship God.* Here we demand, not that

the State shall adopt and cherish any particular religious system, but simply that it shall secure equal rights to all religious beliefs. No peculiar privileges to any religious sect, but ample protection to all in their rights. This principle must be jealously guarded, and steadfastly maintained. The violation of it has caused the most horrid sufferings ever endured by mankind. To maintain it is worth all it ever cost, or ever can cost. May our struggle be sufficient to establish it for all time. May the price we have paid suffice. But it is worth that price, and far more. But it must be confessed that here is the greatest source of uneasiness to many thoughtful minds. You well know whence the danger threatens. It is from the Roman Catholic Church. That Church has been steadily pushing her interests, driving the Bible from our schools where she has the power; exacting first one and then a greater recognition from the civil authorities; and in every open and secret method seeking to strengthen among us *the power of a foreign potentate*. This is the danger, not religious doctrine, not the practice of their religion, but acknowledging the authority of a foreign potentate, whose power is claimed to be above that of this Government, or any other Government. And you know the Pope has but recently addressed a letter to all the faithful Romanists throughout the world. This letter was carefully prepared; it accords with the high pretensions of the Papacy in ages past; and it shows the Man of Sin gathering up his strength for the great battle,—we trust the final battle,—with truth. But now notice this, that letter strikes directly at every principle upon which our Government is founded. They are all denounced as dangerous heresies, against which the faithful are warned. Jesuitical sophists may seek to hide the real issue and effect by a pretence at proving that the letter was not aimed at these principles. But if it is not, then it has no meaning, and can only be regarded as the senseless

raving of an insane old man. But this is not so ; it is the careful production of all the dignitaries of the Church, and it has an intense and terrible meaning. Its whole aim and meaning is an attempt to secure the ancient claim of the Roman Pontiffs, the right to supreme power over all the temporal and spiritual affairs of men. If his claim is just, then, as God's Vicegerent on earth, "by him kings reign, and princes decree justice."

Now observe the position it places a Roman Catholic in this country ; if he is a true Catholic then he must sustain and obey this letter ; but if he does this he cannot be a true and faithful citizen of this Government. The effort to do and be both will only be proof of hypocrisy. Every Catholic must either break with the holy father, or become an open, or a secret, enemy of free institutions. They will almost unanimously choose the last alternative and become secret enemies of our institutions. I do not mean to say that the mass of them will *intentionally* do this. But their prelates, holding absolute power over their conscience and judgment, will secretly yet carefully prepare them to support the extreme claims of the Papacy. The result of our struggle has secured the existence of a Government whose corner-stone may be said to be the principle of freedom to worship God. And it has done much to thwart Papal encroachments. The Pope's desire to be in a condition to take every advantage of our supposed division may be seen from his letter addressed "to the illustrious President of the Confederate States." And I am very much afraid that there is deep significance in two facts : one is that Romanists are so largely concerned in the work of assassination ; the other is, that though adherents of the Papacy have in some instances rendered noble service in our struggle, yet the great mass of the members of that church have been notoriously, intensely, *ferociously* disloyal. And these ignorant ones are the very men to exhibit

and obey the designs of the secret plotters, for they are just what their priests make them. All the world knows that the ignorant rank and file would have been as unanimously and enthusiastically loyal, if their priests had given the word, as they are now unanimously disloyal. When from them we hear such bitter words of hostility to the Government we may know that the loyal utterances of their priests are the words of hypocrites. I say not this of every priest; but I say there is proof positive here that the ruling influence in that church is hostile to our Government, and is only restrained from openly showing this emnity by wholesome fear and crafty policy.

Let us be awake to this subject, and be watchful for every secret or open effort to put in force the doctrines of this letter. We may hope and pray that this last desperate effort may prove the fatal blow to the Man of Sin. Nearly all students of prophecy concur in the opinion that next year is to be one of grand events. And those events have relation to the great struggle and destruction of the Papal power. But under all circumstances let us stand fast by the grand principles of our Government, and of our Bible, and thus "stand in our lot at the last day."

4. Another result of our vast expenditure and sufferings: they have given us a homogeneous country. We had a country of vast extent, and almost exhaustless productions. We had the products of nearly every clime within our own limits, and opportunities for every branch of human industry. And all the varied interests thereby resulting, combining in a government where each should yield something to the common defence, presented a spectacle of many in one, and one for many, such as the world had never seen. There was but one jar in this gigantic but harmonious system, that is but one jar that threatened to destroy the system. There might be some jarring between various interests; but in all such jarring there was nothing which would

not eventually tend to strengthen and establish the system. The great jar was occasioned by the question, not of the condition of the colored race, but, "*shall capital own labor, or, shall labor be free ?*"

Between these two principles there could not be harmony. And it was, perhaps, not so much the fault of men, as the nature of the principles that produced discord. Our wisest men, both North and South, have long seen that this country could not always exist in this condition. One or the other of these principles must finally prevail over the continent. And doubtless it was well that slavery drew the sword and challenged its antagonistic principle to mortal combat ;—well that it said to free labor, "*you or I must die.*" Had it been less violent, and followed up its insidious advantages, then there was great danger that, with a united front in its friends, and the aid of weak-backed moralists, fair-weather Christians and dough-faced politicians at the North, it would have succeeded in ruling this continent. There is abundant evidence that this was the ambitious view of the rebel leaders. But their grand and fatal mistake was in challenging the nation to mortal combat. It was not we that sought the fight ; God, in his Providence, placed us where the *necessity* was laid upon us. We said you may live in the house, but you shall not destroy the house.

And then the two systems showed their nature and endurance when closed in the death grapple. Slavery was stronger at first, and hurled proud defiance in discomfited Liberty's face.

But after a certain point was passed the one grew weaker, and the other grew stronger, until Liberty, rising in her slow but majestic strength, has hurled rebellion and slavery together from our land. Her vow is now recorded on high that no foot of slave shall pollute her fair land. No more shall her sons blush when, in foreign lands, the finger

of scorn is pointed at a land of *freedom* where millions are in *slavery*. No more shall her enemies taunt them that, while solemnly declaring that "all men are created free and equal," they are standing with one foot on the neck of a slave. Henceforth it is guaranteed to every man that if he is a loyal citizen, he shall have an equal right with all others to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Henceforth every man shall control his own labor, and enjoy the fruits of his own industry. It will soon be part of the organic law of the land that "there shall be no involuntary servitude except for crime." But deeply grieved and ashamed am I, though only an adopted son, to be compelled to say that New-Jersey will live in history as a laggard in the grandest act of the present generation. No doubt before she has time to speak again it will be proclaimed that the constitutional number of states has been secured, and the great amendment adopted. But let us hope that she will give her vote for free labor before South-Carolina. All that her true-hearted sons can do now, and she has many such, is to see to it that her record though *late* shall be *right*.

But, my friends, in securing these grand results, we have no right to claim any superior wisdom, or special philanthropy, or peculiar sympathy with those in bondage. We had neither. But God led us on, and enabled us to fight the battle that secures a land where *labor is respectable*. Whether to our shame or credit, it must be said that we waged this war, not from love to the slave, but to save ourselves from degradation—in other words, that we may hold up our heads as equal to any when following the plow or shoving the plane. So, while looking upon the course of the rebels, we say, "God overrules the wickedness of men to promote his own designs:" of ourselves we must say, "God sometimes uses the selfishness of men to secure the grandest results for the human race." We were simply

compelled to take up arms. But, in justice we may say, once in the fight we began to see and hail from afar the grand results that are now bursting upon us, and that will be realized with amazing rapidity. Such results as these are well worth the price we have paid for them.

And here allow me to put on record a thought or two upon a subject that will demand attention immediately. Silence will not keep it back, and silence or uncertain utterance is not becoming in a free and honest man. What I say is not for any other man or for any party ; but I say it for myself. It is this, that *free labor* demands a *free ballot.* Nay more, free labor cannot be maintained without it. And let me say, God will speedily bring us to this only safe and consistent ground. The greatest danger, perhaps, is that party rivalry will bring us to this before the formerly oppressed race are prepared for such a right. But they soon will have that right. And why should they not ? Ask the Union soldier, escaping from the charnel-houses of the South, which is more worthy of this right, the black patriot who assisted and fed him at peril of lash and of death itself, or the white rebel who pursued him with blood-hounds and entertained him with starvation. Ask his friends at home which is more worthy of this right, the black patriot, that sprang to arms to vindicate his own manhood and help us save our inheritance, or the rebel sympathizer in our midst, who, too craven to fly to the rescue of the cause he loved, sheltered himself beneath the protection of our Government only to croak of ruin and woe. I say, my friends, whoever objects to giving such men the elective franchise, traitors have no right to object.

And what shall be said in opposition ? Our people are prejudiced against it ? Will any rational man make *prejudice* a basis of action ? If he does, let shame cover him. Give prejudice to the winds and act as rational beings. Let our course be guided by right motives and

sound policy. You cannot argue with prejudice. But if you lay that aside we may discuss the subject. I can imagine but two objections that reasonable men would urge. One is that our people will never admit the colored race to equality with ourselves. Notice, then, that our Declaration of Independence demands equality for all men in natural rights and before the law. No code of laws ever attempted, and none could ever succeed, to regulate social and intellectual equality. These must regulate themselves. Every man has a right to admit to his society and exclude whomsoever he pleases.

But what is required of us by consistency and by justice is to make all true and law-abiding men equal before the law, and, in the rights of property, equal in the duties and privileges of freemen. But this must also be said, mere assertion will never establish our claim to superiority. That claim may be founded merely on pride, and sustained only by centuries of educational advantages. It cannot be justly vindicated until centuries of equal advantages still show the black inferior to the white race. As it now stands the most degraded specimens of the white race make the most clamor about their superiority. And you can best judge of the nobleness of a man's nature by his willingness to allow all men an equal chance with himself to make the most of life.

Another objection: some may say that the late slaves are too ignorant to exercise this right. They might answer, "This is not our fault." And we cannot very consistently urge this who rush to thrust a ballot into the hand of every foreigner from every land as soon as he puts his foot upon our shores. But, then, ignorant or not, this must be said for them, there is scarcely to be found in all this broad land a heart beneath a sable skin that did not beat true to the flag of the Union; yes, even though it was the flag that so long protected their oppressors. And then, ig-

ignorant or not, they have displayed a patience under wrong, a forbearance under provocation, a moderation in asking for justice, a faith in God, and a tenacity of hope for final deliverance, that would have done high credit to any class claiming to be their superiors.

But I cannot dwell here. I wish to say now these two things, if ever a people deserved to be free, and to enjoy the rights of freemen, these people have deserved it. I say this, having no sympathy with cracked-brained philanthropists, who would demand for them *special* privileges. Let them be educated to know that the *rights* of freedom bring their *duties*, and as they know and will perform the *duties* let them have the *rights*. And this is the other remark, God will bring *us* to bestow these rights in due time. Mark the words, whether we live to see it or not, God will bring us to do it. And I doubt not most of us will live to see it.

5. I will detain you to speak of but one more result we have secured by this costly war, and that is a country where there shall be no aristocracy but that of merit. Perhaps it is utterly impossible, in a world of imperfection, absolutely to realize this idea. But we hope to realize it as nearly as may be. There was but one class among us that claimed to monopolize all the chivalry, and to be the aristocracy of the land ; and that class has been utterly extinguished—extinguished in *infamy* and *derision*. There is nothing more infamous in history than the conduct of this chivalry during this war, and there is nothing more ridiculous than the termination of its effort to found a new Government. The pink of chivalry, who began his career of treason with magniloquent boasting, and maintained it by unheard of atrocities, ended it in a farce. And if any are still disposed to magnify the petticoat hero they are welcome to monopolize the enjoyment. But, we say, let all upstart aristocrats and their toadies pass together into ob-

livion. We desire to have, and we intend to have, a country where a man shall be respected only for what he is and what he does. So far as it can possibly be so arranged let the best occupy the chief seats. If there is an aristocracy at all let it be composed of those who stood, shoulder to shoulder, true to their country in the times of darkness and trial. But we claim no peculiar privileges. We do enjoy a peculiar satisfaction which we will carry to the grave. But we are willing to share the privileges of a country which we have saved from ruin, under the blessing of God, with all who accept the decrees of Providence quietly, and who will henceforth be true to our country.

Well may we, then, bow before the throne of heavenly grace with mingled feelings of joy and sorrow. To a degree, perhaps, never known before, this is a day both of thanksgiving and of humiliation. We may well humble ourselves before God for the many sins that have brought upon us the deserved chastenings of the Almighty, for which God has been pleased to scourge us sorely. Well may we humble ourselves for the sins whose chastening has caused multitudes of our brothers to go down to the grave. Well may we drop the tear of sorrow over the untimely end of so many of the noble of the land. But we shall be grossly derelict in duty if we fail most devoutly to thank God that our sons and brothers *have not died in vain.* Their toils and their sacrifices were not wasted. But they have resulted in securing untold blessings to us, and to the generations yet to come. Monuments to their memory shall dot our land. But their best and noblest monument is the country they died to save. While that country endures their memory shall be honored. And mankind will rise to do them honor while liberty has a refugee and a bulwark on the earth, and will give thanks to God that he raised up a generation to stand for the right in troublous times.

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